2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

262 592 was only one young woman able and willing to search for relish and to do much grinding. Nakulu Marya was crippled with age and rheumatism, and a burden on the group rather than a help. NaMarya herself was elderly, frail, querulous, and constantly anxious. She was a poor organizer and lacked social support in the village into which she had married as an inherited wife, and 607 she had no relatives of her own except her old mother. She was 262 criticized by the women of Kasaka's family, and as always happens 592 in such a situation, rumour had begun to saddle her with some of the misfortunes which had recently fallen on the village.[1] The difficult relationship between a man's wife and his sister, inevitable in a matrilineal community, was intensified by the clash of temperaments between NaMarya, who was weak and timid in character, although technically the senior as the headman's wife, and NaMukonda (B2), domineering, efficient, and sharp-tongued, with a large family of sons and daughters in [579] support. Jealousy, concealed beneath the surface, broke out violently from time to time, culminating in a fight between the two women at a beer-drink which sent NaMarya off for two days to sleep in the grass shelter near her garden with her old mother because she feared that 'her heart would get hot again' and she might again abuse her husband's sister—a bad breach of Bemba kinship sentiment.

262 592 Thus, both the temperamental peculiarities and the social position of NaMarya made catering a burdensome task for her at a time when relish was hard to find, and as the wife of a headman she had to dispense additional hospitality. The heads of the other matrilocal groups, e.g. the sisters NaMukonda and NaKabanda (B2 and C2), would help each other when they were rushed with work, but NaMarya could only rely on her daughter Kampamba (A6), a quiet, steady girl who took her full share of the work when present, but who gardened four days out of twenty and went fishing, looking for relish, or carried meat to Shiwa Dandu for a European employer on five days. Kapea, the 14-year-old girl, was intelligent and lively, but did not work. NaMarya was afraid to scold her for a characteristic reason—she

[1] e.g. people said that the failure of the hunting ordeal at the founding of the village had been due to NaMarya. She had not remained indoors all day as behoved a headman's wife on such an occasion, but had gone abroad visiting. They complained that she did not bother herself (*ukusakamanya*) about the village. Charges of witchcraft frequently result from a situation of this kind.